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general may be touched upon. The women have pain the first day, headache, and sometimes cramps, which diminish the second and third days. During their first menses they do not wash in the sea, but they do so during the succeeding ones. The attitude towards their monthly illness, in general, is that it is a nuisance. There is also a feeling of shame about it as far as men are concerned. The women would be very much ashamed to have men see their menstruating blood. In the past, when straw aprons were worn, they always inserted extra straw in them, and to-day they wear a black loin-cloth instead of a light-coloured one. There is no other protection. They do not have intercourse while they are menstruating, and regard such a custom as disgusting.

Some time within a month after the first menses the marriage rites are held. Betrothal has already been described.

WEDDING RITES

The husband-to-be has been making presents to his future wife and her clan relatives since he first secured their consent. Now come the final rites and the payment for the bride. Tsuros had her first menses in the beginning of November, and her wedding rites were held on November 23rd. Preparations began on November 14th, when all the women of Lesu went to Panat, the hamlet where Tsuros lives with her parents, to practise their dancing. The next day bananas were buried in the sand on the beach at Panat. From then on, until the day of the rites, the women practise their dances every night at this hamlet. Tsuros, the bride-to-be, is sometimes present participating in the rehearsal, but on other nights she is away crab-hunting on the reef. She does not dance during the rites, and her absence or presence at rehearsals seems to mean nothing to the other women. One night when the women were dancing around a fire and the full moon was shining upon them, they were in a

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particularly jolly mood, and began to laugh, "cut up," and not pay much attention to their dancing. The old men of the hamlet and a few others were sitting on one side watching them.[1] One old man stood up and called out angrily to the women to stop their laughing. He asks them if they thought they were playing, and if they do not realize that later all the men would be looking at them, and that then they must dance well. He also mentions the future payments of tobacco, with the suggestion that they must dance well to deserve them. After this short harangue the women control their laughter and dance more seriously.

On November 22nd, two nights before the wedding, the dancing becomes quite wild. Both *Telenga* and *Kongkong* women are dancing. Tsuros is in the house asleep. There is no taboo or other restriction against her participation; she is just tired and not interested. The women dance in a spirit of wild play, lifting up their loin-cloths, exposing themselves. The dancing continues throughout the night, and ends with some of the women having intercourse with the men who have been watching them. This is the rather promiscuous sexual intercourse which occasionally follows the dances. The taboo against sexual relationship between members of the same moiety holds, however, even at this time, so that there is never complete promiscuity.

The next day these same women, as well as women from the neighbouring village of Ambwa, are all at Panat early in the morning, preparing the taro for the feast. The usual cooking preparations occupy the entire day.

The day after the rites take place. In the open compound the Panat women from Lesu, Ambwa, Langania, and Kabil far outnumber the men, for only the men from Lesu are present. Two equally large piles of food, uncooked taro, bundles of baked taro, sugar-cane, bananas, coconuts, and

[1] This is one of the exceptional times when the men watch the women rehearsing their dances.

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pigs are conspicuously displayed. One heap has been contributed by the *Telenga* women (the same moiety as Tsuros), and the other by *Kongkong* women.

As soon as everyone has arrived, which is about an hour or so before noon, the dancing begins. The first dance called *Kapila* from one of the Tabar Islands is by the *Kongkong* women. It is performed in two-line formation. Next, the *Kongkong* women from Ambwa do their dance called *Kaya*. They are followed by *Kongkong* men from Lesu, who, dressed in leaf petticoats and armed with spears, do a warlike dance in two-line formation called *Rumus*. The fourth dance is by *Kongkong* women, mostly from the hamlet of Onel. All these dances are in honour of Tsuros (who is *Telenga*), and during the dancing her clan relatives fling presents of tobacco and loin-cloths to the dancers.

Now the *Telenga* people are supposed to dance in honour of Pirau, the bridegroom, who is *Kongkong*, but at the last moment these dances are called off because the sky looks as if rain will come down soon. (It is the beginning of the rainy season, and heavy deluges are an almost daily occurrence.) It is desired to finish the rites before the storm breaks.

Next comes the distribution of the marriage payment, which was made several months ago, when the circumcision rites were performed. At that time Pirau's parents had come from Kanopil, on the west coast, and given him five *tsera* collected from his clan relatives. He, in turn, gave it to Tsuros' maternal relatives (her mother, her maternal grandfather and grandmother). The payment was not made in public or ritually. They accepted it, and, after considering the matter, decided that there was not sufficient to give all Tsuros' *Telenga* relatives, to whom it was proper that payment be made. They foresaw that if they gave to some and not to others there would be much talk and gossip, which they must avoid in order not to diminish their social prestige. So the members of Tsuros' clan, her mother, her mother's

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mother, a classificatory sister and brother[1] contributed additional *tsera*. When I asked if this were not irregular, and why the members of Pirau's own clan, or at least moiety, did not assist him, I was told that if Pirau had asked them before he made the original payment they would certainly have helped him.[2] But he had not asked them. After he had made the payment he could not ask, nor could they offer, more. The payment was finished. Then it was that some of the members of Tsuros' clan decided to supplement the payment in order to maintain their prestige (not Pirau's). He need not repay them, but it is considered that they will be reimbursed with *tsera* at other marriage rites by those to whom they now give it.

Another marriage payment, made by Biga for his wife Nut, is more according to traditional custom. This marriage payment consists of twelve *tsera*, tobacco, and seven or eight loin-cloths. He has given four *tsera*, and the rest is contributed almost entirely by his clan relatives, although a few of his father's clan relatives have also assisted. Biga's maternal uncle, his *tata*, has been the leader in collecting the payments. (Biga works on a plantation, and has not so much free time.) The same maternal uncle goes with Biga and hands over the payment to Biga's future wife's mother and sister. Biga makes no return payment to those who have contributed to this payment, but at some future time he will assist kin of his in their marriage payments.

At the wedding rites for Tsuros the payment is ritually distributed. Sitting on the ground, the *tsera* on a mat between them, are Kokala, Tsuros' mother, and Towi and Nunda, her maternal grandfather and grandmother. Beiki, her father, stands to one side. Towi, her grandfather, stands up,

[1] These were respectively a mother's father's sister's son's daughter and a mother's father's mother's sister's son.

[2] It must be remembered that Pirau comes from a village on the west coast and has no clan relatives at Lesu.

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holding the *tsera* in plain view, and calls out the name of the person who is to receive it, and Beiki then hands it over. No one presses forward to claim his *tsera*, and sometimes Beiki has to search for several minutes to find the person whose name has been called. The distribution is as follows: The five *tsera* which Pirau paid are given to the following five people: (1) Tsuros, his future wife; (Tsuros as ego in following kinship terms) (2) Batu, who is a classificatory daughter; (3) Pakul and (4) Tukan, who are classificatory brothers; and (5) Korat, a classificatory son. All these are members of Tsuros' clan. Nine other people, members of Tsuros' moiety and classificatory kindred, also receive *tsera* which her clan relatives had contributed.

Besides these *Telenga* people, certain *Kongkong* people are given *tsera*. First, there is Boluth, to whom Tsuros stands in the relationship of a classificatory cross-cousin's daughter, and therefore a preferred mate.[1] The payment now is regarded as a return for presents of food he has given her, and as a kind of compensation for his loss of a possible mate. Another piece of *tsera* is given to Luasaw, a little boy whose maternal uncle, also named Luasaw, had been betrothed to Tsuros. Luasaw, the senior, is dead, and his namesake and nephew gets the payment in his place. To the former she had stood in the relation of a classificatory cross-cousin's daughter, and therefore a preferred mate. Ongas, another man who stands in the relationship of a preferred husband, is likewise given one *tsera*.

Now Towi hands over one *tsera* to Pirau's father for the pig which he gave for the feast. Then Kokala, Tsuros' mother, gives one *tsera* to her husband for the pig which he gave for their daughter's feast. It is of interest to note how at this time the clan relationship is stressed, in that the girl's own father is paid for his contribution by the girl's mother. In contrast, her maternal grandmother, who has also given

[1] Boluth is Tsuros' mother's father's mother's sister's daughter's son.

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585 583 a pig, refuses the payment which is offered her. She says that she wishes to give the pig without payment to her granddaughter's feast. Then Tsuros gives her pig to Pirau, and he pays her three *tsera* for it, and he gives his pig to Tsuros, who in turn pays him three *tsera*. This is the perfect reciprocal exchange, in which exact equals are the objects of the transaction.

585 537 When the distribution of the *tsera* has been completed, a group of *Kongkong* women from Lesu run on the scene, carrying knives, baskets, fish-nets, and other implements used in procuring food, and circle around the pile of food contributed by the *Telenga* people. Each of the *Kongkong* women in turn holds up an implement and speaks. One says: "With this knife my husband cuts down the bush and clears the ground for the garden. Then I plant in the garden, and after that we have much taro to eat."

Another speaks, holding a basket: "All the men eat pig, fish, and taro in the cemetery. Now, when my husband's stomach is full he puts the remainder of the food in the basket and brings it out to me to eat."

One, holding a fishing-spear, says: "Suppose I am hungry for fish: my husband goes out fishing, spears a fish, and later I eat it."

Holding a knife, another one says: "This knife, I work with it. My husband does not know how to work. He just strolls about all the time. I must do his work. It is I who have to mend the garden fence. It is I who clear the ground where the taro is to be planted. I work with this knife." Loud laughter from the audience! The laughter is directed against the lazy husband and not the woman. More speeches of this same nature follow.

When the *Kongkong* women have finished, four *Telenga* women run on the scene. They carry no implements of work, and they stand round the pile of food contributed by the members of Pirau's moiety. First Kokala, the mother of

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585 537 Tsuros, speaks: "I am just one person. I have no brothers or sisters. I stand alone. If I had many clan relatives, there would have been much more food. The place would have been filled with food. You have seen that there are plenty of *Kongkong* women, but all my sisters (used in the classificatory sense) have died. I am one person, that's all. My *korup* (taboo) relative (referring to her new son-in-law, Pirau) is a young boy. (He is about seventeen.) Tsuros is also young. They have not been betrothed long. He has not yet brought plenty of food. I have not yet eaten bananas or other food which he should have brought."

Then Pulong, a classificatory sister to Tsuros, speaks: "Pirau has not given us much yet. Just a little fish and a little tobacco; but he has not been here very long. Suppose he stays a year longer, then I think he will give us plenty of food."

Strubi, a member of Tsuros' clan, follows, saying briefly: "Pirau has given me a little tobacco. Suppose he has been married a long time, he will give me much tobacco."

Tsangamor, another member of Tsuros' clan, holding up an axe, says: "With this axe, which I hold up, Pirau has cleared a garden for me, which later I planted. Pirau is young and has not been here long. After he has been married a long time he will bring me much food."

585 431 These women of the bride's clan have not taken advantage of the custom of speaking about their husband's ability to provide them with food, but instead have discussed the same quality in the man who is marrying a member of their clan. In the preceding chapter we noted how the man was expected constantly to make gifts, particularly food and tobacco, to his future wife's clan relatives. In this case Pirau the groom, is from another part of the island, and has only been in the village for about a year. His own clan relatives are far away. The last four speeches show very plainly what has been expected of him, and that he has not performed

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585 all the services anticipated of a prospective bridegroom.
431 But at the same time they do not berate him for not having come up to expectations. Rather do they make excuses for him and express their confidence that in the future he will fulfill all his obligations to his wife's clan relatives.

585 When the women have finished talking, Ongas, the "Luluai" (chief) (and also one of the preferred mates for Tsuros),[1] stands up and speaks: "To-day we have come to this feast. All the women, all the children, all the men have come to the feast. Now one man from the west coast, one from the mission, marries Tsuros. The feast is sufficient for him. But suppose it was a Lesu man who was marrying Tsuros, there would be a much bigger feast. This feast is really a very small one. Also suppose that so many of Tsuros' clan relatives had not died, there would be a much larger feast. Now we have to hasten this feast, because Pirau must soon go to Pinakundo. The gardens are really not ready for the feast, but because we had to hurry we have the feast now. I have finished talking."

Then Ongas directs the distribution of food. Half is to go to the women who came the day before and contributed food, and the other half to those who have come from the distant villages of Langania, Kabil, etc., to-day, and who have not contributed food. The men are busy preparing the food for distribution. They place the bundles of food in a long line and put a stick in the middle of the line, which marks the division indicated by Ongas.

While the men are so occupied, a group of thirty or forty women have gone outside the compound, all the *Telenga* women in one direction, and all the *Kongkong* women in the opposite direction. After walking a short distance, each group turns and advances toward the other, shouting, laughing, and vigorously hurling coconut shells at each other

[1] He speaks in his role as the chief and a good orator, rather than because of his kinship to the bride.

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as soon as they approach within throwing range. The shells 585
fly about in a lively fashion for three or four minutes, and then the playful fighting is over. The women re-enter the compound, sit down, and wait until the men have finished arranging the distribution of food. As usual, the women appear disinterested in the distribution and take no notice of it. First comes the distribution of the food to the women of Lesu and Ambwa, who have contributed food for the occasion. The food brought by the *Telenga* women is given to the *Kongkong* women, and *vice versa*. Then comes the distribution of food to the women from Langania and Kabil, who have just arrived that day. The moieties do not figure in these last gifts, which are expected to be returned at some future time when the Lesu and Ambwa women go to Langania and Kabil. There is no eating at these rites, and after the distribution the women load the food on their backs and start on their way home. The wedding is over.

But in the meantime what has happened to the bride and groom? During the rites which have just been described they remained in the background. A stranger would not be able to pick them out of the crowd as the bride and groom for whom the rites were being held. They never notice each other, not even with so much as a smile or glance, and seem to be oblivious of one another. They mix with the crowd (but separately), and are always onlookers rather than participants. Neither one has danced. Pirau had, however, assisted the other men in distributing the food. While they are now considered to be ritually married, the marriage may not be consummated immediately, particularly if the girl, like Tsuros, has just reached puberty. Frequently, the two will not have any sexual relations for six or eight months. When a girl has just had her first menses, she is considered too young for both sexual intercourse and pregnancy. She eats with her husband in her parents' compound, but she continues sleeping in her parents' house, and he in the men's

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585 house. The girl is referred to as *katumbo* (his wife), and the man as *kamalis* (her husband). Their relationship is described as *oning itara*, literally, "eat together," and this eating together seems to symbolize the marriage relationship. Frequently, in the folk-tales, we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down together and eat to express the fact that they are married. The life in common between a man and his wife is symbolized by the meals in common. Later, although both may have extra-marital relations with other people, they will not eat with these others.

CONSUMMATION OF MARRIAGE

585 832 During this interval after the marriage rites and before the sexual consummation of the marriage, the man will usually make love magic so that his wife will desire him. Sometimes he merely gives her a certain leaf to smoke which is supposed to have magical properties, and over which no spell need be said. The *wulish* leaf is one of these. The man rolls the leaf between the palms of his hands and then puts it in the sun to dry. After it is dry he mixes it with some tobacco and gives it, via a third person (sometimes his mother), to his wife. She smokes it, and after that she desires him.[1] Until they have sexual relations there is "shame" between them. Tomerare told me about his experience in 585 his first sexual relationship with his wife Pakamus. She was 833 perhaps a year or so past puberty when he married her, and so was considered, as far as her age went, ready for sexual intercourse, and they immediately went to live together in the same house. After the marriage rites they ate together, but both were very shy. They were so filled with "shame" that they could scarcely look at each other. He gave her the *wulish* leaf to smoke, and on the third night after their marriage he woke her from sleep and they had

[1] Love magic will be discussed in detail in a following chapter.

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intercourse. "At first," said Tomerare, "she cried, but after that she liked it, and now there is no more shame between us." Now it is said, "*Lulisi e maisi sa*," "the two are truly married." There is no feast or rite to mark the actual consummation of the marriage, for this is a private matter with which society is not concerned.

It has already been mentioned that, should the girl have just reached puberty, six or eight moons, or even more, may elapse before the marriage is consummated. It is unthinkable that a girl should have sexual relations with anyone else during this period. Her husband should be the first. But it is admitted that the "unthinkable" occurs occasionally. In that case the "other man" makes a payment of *tsera* to the wife, which she in turn gives to her husband. But this, as we shall see, is the usual pattern of behaviour for all extra-marital intercourse.[1]

During the consummation of their marriage and immediately following it they may spend the first few nights in the wife's mother's house, if the husband has no house ready. The parents leave the house and go to some other. As soon as the husband has built a new house he and his wife live in it. A new household has been added to the village, and the husband and wife take their places as part of the adult community.

SALIENT ASPECTS OF RITES

Significant aspects of the rites which mark the girl's entrance into adult society may be mentioned here. First, there is the role taken by the moieties in the exchange of food and in the playful fighting between the women. This playful fighting which occurs between the women of opposite moieties at the wedding rites, and also at pregnancy and birth rites (all concerned with some phase

[1] If the woman is a widow, or has passed puberty a year or more, there is no interval between rite and consummation.

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of sexual relations), might be considered symbolically as a dramatization of the fear of incest. The society is divided into two halves or moieties, and relationship within one moiety is considered as incest and the very worst crime. The fighting emphasized the dual division, and might give some relief to people who have a dread of the incest which would occur if the division was not observed. The comfort which many primitive peoples receive by dramatic symbols of their fears and desires has been pointed out by Professor Seligman.[1] The frequent exchange of food between the two moieties might similarly be a symbolic dramatization of the same dual division in the society.

The importance of the clan relatives is clearly seen in connection with the marriage payments. It is the groom's clan relatives who help him collect the payment, and the bride's clan relatives who receive it, with the exception of the bride's potential mates, who receive compensation. That the girl's clan plays the leading role in contributing to the feast is brought out clearly when her own father is paid by her mother for a pig. The significance of the clan is thus given overt expression.

And lastly, this occasion of the girl's coming of age and her marriage is a peculiarly feminine one. At the rites for her first menses the women are the main actors. The men merely assist in the preparations. At the final rites of marriage it is again the women who have the stellar roles, and although the men assist, and even participate in the dancing, they have no feast. The food is given to the women. At most of the rites in this society the feasts are exclusively masculine, with the women getting the left-overs. When the exception occurs, it therefore makes the occasion a significant one.

[1] Seligman, C. G., "Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXII (1932), pp. 197–198, 201–203, and *passim*.